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ABSTRACT

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**Professional and Geographic Mobility of a Selected Sample of Nebraska
Public School Administrators: Differences Between Men and Women**

A paper prepared for presentation at the
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Professional and Geographic Mobility of a Selected Sample of Nebraska
Public School Administrators: Differences Between Men and Women

Abstract

Women have comprised a declining percentage of public school administrators since 1928 when 55 percent of all elementary principals were female. A heretofore unchallenged reason for this decline has been the assumption that women lack geographic mobility and that consequently neither they themselves nor potential employers should consider them serious contenders for administrative jobs which entail moving. This study surveyed 180 public school administrators in Nebraska and found virtually no differences between the sexes in terms of past job mobility or geographic mobility. And although women were slightly less certain about anticipated future job change than men, in terms of anticipated geographic mobility, almost as many women as men feel they will move although both sexes appeared equally reluctant to relocate.

Professional and Geographic Mobility of a Selected
Sample of Nebraska Public School Administrators:
Differences Between Men and Women

Women comprise approximately two-thirds of this country's public school teachers (83% of elementary and 47% of secondary teachers) yet they hold a disproportionately small number of public school principalships. Overall, only 13% of all school principals are women, including 18% at the elementary level and less than 3% in secondary schools (Lovelady-Dawon, 1980). This represents a decline since 1928, when women held over half (55%) of elementary school principalships and even in secondary schools, women constituted at least twice the number of principals then as they do today over 50 years later ("Women," 1928). In obtaining the superintendency, women also fare poorly. As recently as 1975, less than one percent of the nation's 17,000 school districts had women superintendents (Sex Equality, 1975).

Models Explain Women's Scarcity in Educational Administration

Reasons given by researchers to account for the scarcity of women in leadership positions in education can, according to Estler, be ascribed to one of three models: a women's place model, a discrimination model, or a meritocracy model (Estler, 1975). Little support exists for the meritocracy model according to Lyman and Speizer (1980). This model holds that only the most competent people move up the administrative ladder, thus men must be more competent than women since they are so much more frequently chosen. According to a comprehensive study conducted in 41 U.S. cities in the 1960s and reported by Neal Gross and Anne Trask in The Sex Factor and the Management of Schools (Gross and Trask, 1976), the professional performance of teachers and the amount of student learning were higher on the average in schools with women

principals. Furthermore, morale of the staff in no way depended on the gender of the principal.

Lyman and Speizer contend that the women's place model and the discrimination model provide the best framework for explaining why women remain in teaching while men move into administration. "Few women have been socialized to have a clear sense of a career track or to develop their leadership skills. They have also been denied the support, opportunity, and experience given to men" (Lyman and Speizer, 1980, p. 29).

One can look further into the fields of social science and management theory and find more general models which might explain women's position in education. A model which attributes women's absence in administrative positions to their lack of geographic mobility, which is a major focus of this paper, could be considered a concomitant of the Psycho/Social/Economic Dependency Model which is not unrelated to Estler's women's place and discrimination models. This model views all women as psychologically and economically dependent upon men for not only their physical and emotional well-being, but as completely dependent in regard to their status and social standing in life. Thus, this view ties in nicely with an apparent lack of aspiration on the part of women for administrative positions and the obvious fact that so few are actually to be found there. It is this model which views every woman as ultimately dependent upon a male and therefore unable to move about freely in a geographic sense in response to the demands of the job market which is seriously challenged by the research presented in this paper.

Another model which might help explain women's absence in administrative roles is that of Carlson (1962) who identified and described two distinct types of school administrators, those who were placebound and those who were careerbound. The placebound administrator, who works solely within one

school system until the highest position is his [sic], has a career which is basically an ascent through the hierarchy and he is an insider with a local orientation. The careerbound administrator on the other hand, is an outsider who seeks positions wherever they may be found. This individual's career spans two or more school systems and typically does not stop with the superintendency. He or she is an outsider who has probably never served the school district in which the superintendency is held in any other professional capacity. Ruth Love, Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools, and Floretta McKenzie, who heads the Washington, D.C., school system are both examples of the careerbound administrator.

If Carlson's typology has any relevance in explaining why most women do not become superintendents and yet one were to accept the lack of geographic mobility premise, one would still expect more of the placebound women to become successful administrators simply through longevity than is the actual case. A study which explores this rationale in depth would seem in order but is beyond the scope of this paper.

A final model which holds some promise for explaining male supremacy in educational administration is Presthus' Bureaucratic Organizational Behavior/Psychology Anxiety Reduction Model (Presthus, 1958, 1962). Although the name given here to this model has been formulated by the author, the point to be made is that Presthus saw organizational behavior as a psychological response to the structured field of the bureaucratic setting which clearly delineates authority, status, and role. In an attempt to reduce anxiety, individuals attempt to meet the demands of the organization by a variety of accommodation styles or types which Presthus calls the upward-mobiles, the indifferents and the ambivalents. "Type one," according to Presthus, "is characterized by an ability to identify with the long-range,

abstract goals of the total organization and to make these a meaningful basis for participation, in other words, to accept the legitimacy and the rationality of the organization" (Presthus, 1958, p. 70). It is this accommodation type which most typically produces administrators or executives.

The indifferents, type two, comprise the most common pattern of accommodation. Indifferents reject majority values of success and power and display an essentially extravocational orientation. Although Presthus uses the pronoun "his" to further describe the indifferent, one can readily see the analogy between the worker described below and the stereotype of the working woman in our society:

His work is separated from the assumed-to-be more meaningful aspects of life. His references lie outside the organization, which merely provides the income necessary to indulge off-the-job satisfactions; and unlike the upward-mobiles, these activities rarely reinforce his organizational role. His relationship with the organization is essentially an economic bargain in which he sells his time and energy for a certain number of hours per week but jealously guards the remaining time as his own (Presthus, 1958, pp. 70-71).

The extraordinary thing about this definition is that Presthus does not use it to explain sex differences in occupational orientation among individuals.

In describing his final type, the ambivalent, Presthus could just as easily be describing the aspiring female administrator in education. Ambivalents comprise the small minority who can neither resist the appeals of power and success through the organization nor can they play the role required to attain them. The ambivalent is temperamentally unable (or perhaps not allowed as in the case of women) to make the accommodations necessary to obtain the power and success he/she craves. An aggressive sense of individuality, which would not be uncommon among women stepping out of their socially-accepted role of teaching, would be counterproductive to these same

women in terms of achieving organizational mobility. Presthus' anxiety reduction theory sheds further light on the typical pattern of male domination as he explains organizational behavior in simplistic, but nonetheless rational attempts of the individual to extend the early authority pattern established within the family, where the father's role was dominant as the authority figure, into other areas of endeavor such as the workplace. Individuals quickly learn the anxiety reduction mechanism of deferring to authority as a dependable, safe accommodation and thus this pattern serves both a useful purpose psychologically for individuals and politically for organizations which seek to reinforce and legitimize their authority and power over individual behavior. Again, while Presthus offers much in terms of future research possibilities, it is not a major focus of this paper.

Returning to the Psycho/Social/Economic Dependency Model, we will examine one of the logical consequences of this model which is a presumed lack of voluntary geographic mobility on the part of women. In fact, lack of geographic mobility is often cited as one of the major reasons for women's decline in the administrative ranks. Even if qualified women could be found, the reasoning goes, they simply would not move to further their careers. Aspiring women administrators themselves see this as a major stumbling block according to Jones (1982). Lack of geographic mobility was cited as one of the few internal barriers hindering their job mobility or career advancement by a group of 75 women participants in a series of Ford Foundation workshops designed to increase women's representation in educational administration. It prevented many of these women from seeking positions in other parts of the country, and, although the majority of women in the group Jones analyzed achieved upward career mobility (45 or 60% of the 75 women), only four of them did so by moving to another state.

Recent Mobility Research

Yet recent research studies concerning both job and geographic mobility have raised serious questions about the validity of this type of rationalization for several reasons. In the first place, most mobility studies have been limited to one particular sex, thereby providing no comparative data between men and women. Also, many studies have revealed a high correlation between elevation in job rank and single institution stability. In other words, those remaining at a single institution longer tend to be the ones who rise to the higher ranking administrative levels. Studies such as Carlson's have revealed the existence of a dual career system containing the movers (i.e., careerbound) and the stayers (the placebound). And finally, most studies have been concentrated on higher education, ignoring the public school sector.

Bock, for example, surveyed women in instructional middle management positions in California community colleges and found that 50% was willing to relocate in California and 20% was willing to move out of state to enhance their career mobility (Bock, 1980). A study by Dale of women with library science doctorates, many of whom had accepted administrative positions in educational institutions, found that only 8% of respondents cited geographical limitations as a hindrance to their career (Dale, 1980). In Pennsylvania studying women administrators in higher education, Moore and Sagaria (1981) found that over 40% was not willing to move to another position but also expecting to move within the next five years. However, Moore and Sagaria reported that 75% of these administrators had occupied their last three positions within the state and 55.5% had occupied their two previous positions at the same institutions.

Studying male administrators in higher education, especially presidents, Cohen and March (1974) illustrated that men also possess a high degree of

institutional stability. In a study of men and women librarians, of whom many were administrators in academic institutions, Braunagel (1979) determined no statistically significant difference in job change rates between men and women (i.e., men changed jobs every 4.8 years, women every 5.2 years). A significant difference in mobility willingness, however, was found between the sexes by Braunagel. Two-thirds of the men in her survey felt they had enough flexibility to move geographically for a new position, but two-thirds of the women did not consider themselves this mobile. This is in sharp contrast to Curby (1980) who found that almost 78% of women administrators in higher education is willing to move for the right job even though the move was more than 50 miles from their current position. Also, Curby reported that 73% of the homeowners, 74% of the married women living with spouses, women 55 years of age and younger, and women with doctorates were willing to move for a "choice" position.

In summary, the available studies of women and geographic mobility indicate that women administrators are willing to relocate when the proper conditions are present to motivate such change. Furthermore, traditionally perceived constraints on female mobility such as marriage are not inhibiting factors to the willingness to move. However, as stated previously, studies concerning mobility in educational administration tend to focus on a single sex and higher education (Moore and Sagaria, 1981; Curby, 1980; Cohen and March, 1974). They have not provided comparable data for the sexes similar to Braunagel's study of men and women librarians. Also, since these studies have mainly concentrated on higher education where the market for jobs, at least at the major state college and university level, is a decidedly national one, the question has remained, would the same general pattern exist in

public school administration? Because of these limitations, the studies cited have little applicability to public school administration and cannot assist in the determination as to whether lack of geographic mobility is a contributing factor to the decreasing incidence of women acquiring administrative positions at the public school level.

The purpose of this study is to examine the geographic mobility of current women administrators in Nebraska public schools to determine if they are more or less mobile than men administrators in the same state. To conduct the study, three groups of public school administrators in Nebraska school districts were surveyed to determine the following: (a) do men and women administrators differ in past job change rates and in anticipating job changes within the next five years; (b) had administrators relocated because of new positions or are they anticipating relocation in the near future; (c) for what reasons did administrators change jobs; (d) what factors would prevent or cause administrators to relocate; and (e) are there major differences in men and women's responses and, if so, would these differences explain the small number of women in public school administration?

Methodology

One hundred and eighty subjects were selected from the Nebraska State Department of Education Directory listing to include administrators from each of the four major classes of Nebraska school districts, with special consideration given to insure a higher proportion of female respondents than the state average which is less than 20%. Of the total number of subjects who received survey questionnaires, 150 returned the questionnaires on the first mailing (106 (71%) male respondents and 44 (29%) females) for a return rate of 83%. Forty-nine percent of the respondents were from school

districts serving a population of between 1,000 to 50,000 people; 23% from districts serving under 1,000 people; 17% from the Lincoln public schools and 11% from Omaha area schools.

The sample represented three administrative categories. Group 1 consisted of 41 (24 men and 17 women) assistant principals and assistant superintendents, central office personnel, and other staff positions; Group 2 constituted 56 (30 men and 26 women) elementary and secondary school principals; and, Group 3 contained 53 superintendents including the one woman superintendent in the state.

Respondents' administrative experience ranged from 1 to 32 years, with the largest group (35% of the respondents) possessing 10 to 20 years of experience. Less than 3% of the respondents was under 30 years of age and 36% was over 49 years, with 61% between 31 and 49 years. Eighty-two percent of the respondents possessed at least master's degrees; 19% possess earned Ph.D. or Ed. D. degrees; one respondent had an honorary doctorate. Fifty-three percent of the respondents was in the \$20,000 to \$29,999 salary category; no respondent indicated the less than \$15,000 salary category.

The most common spouse's occupation was housewife (32%) followed by other (29%) and teacher (18%). Spouses' salaries were considerably lower overall than the administrators'. For working spouses, the most frequent salary category was less than \$10,000 (16%) followed by \$15,000-19,999 (14%); 43% of respondents (41% of the women and 44% of the men) did not have a spouse who worked. A significant difference was found in responses given when spouse's salary was broken down by sex of administrator. The majority of working wives made less than \$20,000 whereas most working husbands of school administrators made over \$20,000. In fact, four female administrators had spouses earning in the \$30,000-39,999 salary range and two had husbands making over \$40,000 a year.

Data were analyzed using the cross-tabulation program of SPSS ("Statistical Package for the Social Sciences") (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bent, 1975). Statistical analyses included the computation of Chi square values, both with and without a correction for continuity (Bartz, 1976) and Pearson product moment correlations. As analysis of the data progressed, several factors emerged causing additional analyses to focus on Groups 1 and 2 (i.e., assistant-staff personnel and principals). Since the group of superintendents included only one woman, Group 3 was not included because of the bias that would occur. To concentrate analyses on Groups 1 and 2 was appropriate because the groups contained a more equitable distribution of men and women and represented the positions from which top-level administrators (i.e., superintendents) are most often selected.

Furthermore, during initial analysis of the three groups to determine who anticipated a job change involving a geographic move, the respondent's present position was identified as an important variable related to the anticipation of a job change and a corresponding geographic move. The superintendent's position was highly correlated with the anticipation of a geographic move. Overall, 38 respondents (25%) indicated that they would probably move in the next five years; 23 of these respondents (60% of the 38) were superintendents.

Results

Approximately 43% of Groups 1, 2, and 3 had changed jobs recently, and 43.3% predicts or anticipates a job change in the near future (see Table 1).

Table 1

Actual Job Change Versus Anticipated Job Change
of Nebraska Administrators

Recent Job Change		Anticipated Job Change	
Yes	64 (42.7%)	Yes	65 (43.3%)
No	86 (57.3%)	No	51 (34.0%)
		Uncertain	34 (22.7%)

However, when geographic moves are considered, a discrepancy between actual and predicted moves becomes evident (see Table 2). Only 16% actually made one or more moves in the recent past, though 25.3%

Table 2

Past Geographic Moves Versus Predicted Future
Relocation of Nebraska Administrators

Made Previous Geographic Move		Predict Future Relocation	
Yes	24 (16.0%)	Yes	38 (25.3%)
No	126 (84.0%)	No	23 (15.3%)
		Uncertain	42 (28.0%)
		Not Applicable, No Change Anticipated	47 (31.3%)

predicts future job relocations. Moreover, 28% is uncertain about the need to relocate.

In recent job change rates, virtually no difference was found between men and women (see Table 3). In Groups 1 and 2, 41.2% had made a

Table 3
Recent Job Change by Sex of Administrator
(Groups 1 and 2)

Recent Job Change			
Sex	Yes	No	Total
Male	22 (40.7%)	32 (59.3%)	54 (55.7%)
Female	18 (41.9%)	25 (58.1%)	43 (44.3%)
Total	40 (41.2%)	57 (58.8%)	97 (100%)

Chi Square (χ^2) = 0.0 with 1 degree of freedom
Significance = 1.00

job change in the past five years. By sex, 40.7% of the men and 41.9% of the women had changed jobs, indicating that women had changed jobs slightly more often than men.

Similarly, in terms of geographic moves in the past five years differences between men and women administrators were almost nonexistent (see Table 4). In Groups 1 and 2, 87% of the men and 90.7% of the women

Table 4
Geographic Move Made in Past Five Years by
Sex of Administrator
(Groups 1 and 2)

Geographic Move Made Within Past Five Years			
Sex	Yes, 1 or more moves	No Moves	Total
Male	7 (13.0%)	47 (87.0%)	54 (55.7%)
Female	4 (9.3%)	39 (90.7%)	43 (44.3%)
Total	11 (11.3%)	86 (88.7%)	97 (100%)

Chi Square (χ^2) = 2.53 with three degrees of freedom

Significance = 0.47

had not moved. No statistically significant difference was evident between the sexes in terms of rate of geographic mobility. The one person who had moved the most in the past five years (i.e., three times) was a woman.

In Groups 1 and 2, the difference between men and women in their rate of anticipated job change is 12.4% (see Table 5). In absolute and percentage terms, women expressed more uncertainty about future job

Table 5
Anticipated Future Change in Job Position
by Sex of Administrator
(Groups 1 and 2)

Anticipate Job Change				
Sex	Yes	No	Uncertain	Total
Male	23 (42.6%)	20 (37%)	11 (20.4%)	54 (55.7%)
Female	13 (30.2%)	18 (41.9%)	12 (27.9%)	43 (44.3%)
Total	36 (37.1%)	38 (39.2%)	23 (23.7%)	97 (100%)

Chi Square (χ^2) = 1.7 with two degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.43

changes; however, no overall statistically significant difference is found between the sexes in terms of anticipated job changes in the near future.

Moreover, when sex differences in anticipated geographic mobility are viewed, the differences between men and women administrators are very slight (see Table 6). In groups 1 and 2, 16.7% of the men and 14%

Table 6
New Position Will Involve a Geographic Move
by Sex of Administrator
(Groups 1 and 2)

Involve Geographic Move					
Sex	Yes	No	Uncertain	Not Applicable No Job Change Anticipated	Total
Male	9 (16.7%)	8 (14.8%)	17 (31.5%)	20 (37%)	54 (55.7%)
Female	6 (14%)	10 (23.3%)	12 (27.9%)	15 (34.9%)	43 (44.3%)
Total	15 (15.5%)	18 (18.6%)	29 (29.9%)	35 (36.1%)	97 (100%)

Chi Square (χ^2) = 1.17 with three degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.76

of the women felt that relocation would accompany anticipated job changes. A large number of these respondents apparently felt that future geographic mobility was not a concomitant of job mobility. The mean overall "yes" response to anticipated relocation was merely 15.5% although the fact that 29.9% of the respondents were uncertain about relocation was indicative of a willingness to keep one's options open. Most importantly, however, no statistically significant difference was found between men's and women's apparent willingness to relocate (i.e., future geographic mobility).

Job position, rather than sex, proved to be a better predictor of willingness to move. As Table 7 indicates, a principal was four times

Table 7
Anticipating a Geographic Move by Position

Position			
Anticipate Geographic Move	Group 1 Assistants/Staff	Group 2 Principals	TOTAL
Yes	3 (20.0%)	12 (80.0%)	15 (15.5%)
No	11 (61.1%)	7 (38.9%)	18 (18.6%)
Uncertain	12 (41.4%)	17 (58.6%)	29 (29.9%)
Not applicable (No job change anticipated)	15 (42.9%)	20 (57.1%)	35 (36.1%)
TOTAL	41 (42.3%)	56 (57.7%)	97 (100%)

Chi Square (χ^2) = 5.68 with 3 degrees of freedom

Significance = 0.13

more likely to be anticipating a geographic move than an assistant staff level administrator. However, again the differences are not statistically significant.

Age is a significant variable related to the anticipation of a geographic move. Of those who had changed jobs, 77.5% were between 31 and 49 years of age. However, marital status, number of dependents, previous desire for higher salary, degrees held, present salary, and spouse's salary appear unrelated to the willingness to make a geographic move.

Spouse's occupation appeared to be related to anticipated geographic mobility. Of those checking "yes" to anticipated relocation, 43% checked "other" as spouse's occupation. This category included such diverse spouse occupations as floral designer, clinical psychologist, attorney, beautician, professor, factory administrator, truck driver, medical technician, hospital administrator, and assistant superintendent. Twenty-one percent of the "yes" respondents to anticipated geographic mobility are married to nurses; 15% of those checking "not applicable" and 15% of those checking "housewife" are willing to move. A significant difference was found between groups when responses to the question indicating anticipated future geographic mobility was broken down by spouses' occupations. Some spouse occupations are obviously considered more "portable" than others.

Reasons for Previous Job Changes

Few conditions appeared highly correlated with previous job changes. Higher salary, normally a reason for changing jobs, was checked as important for previous job change to a great extent by only 10% of the respondents although 18% said it was influential to a moderate extent. Table 8 lists the top five reasons checked as conditions prompting previous job change. Although the order varies, the top three reasons cited as influential to a great or moderate extent were higher level of administration, better chance for advancement, and higher salary. Higher level of administration (20%) and better chance for advancement (16%) outranked higher salary as a motivator of job change to a great extent. Other conditions were only moderately influential or had no impact on previous job change. Greater competence and congeniality of colleagues was important to some, as were "other" reasons and size of community. No additional conditions were checked by over 5% of respondents.

Table 8
Conditions Which Prompted
Previous Job Change

Rank Order	Great Extent	Condition	Moderate Extent	Condition
1	19%	Higher Level of Administration	18%	Higher Salary
2	16%	Better Chance for Advancement	10%	Better Chance for Advancement
3	10%	Higher Salary	9%	Higher Level of Administration
4	6%	Greater Competence and Congeniality of Colleagues	8%	Size of Community
5	5%	Other	6%	Greater Competence and Congeniality of Colleagues

Conditions Necessary to Move for a New Job

While not highly influential in previous job changes, a higher salary appeared important as a condition for acceptance of a future job involving a geographic move. An overwhelming 75% of the respondents considered a salary increase a prerequisite to accepting such a job (see Table 9). Better chance for advancement and higher level of administration (which were tied for next place) were not even a near second, with both checked

Table 9

Conditions Necessary for Administrators to
Move in Order to Accept a New Job

Rank Order	Percent	Condition
1	75%	Higher Salary
2*	45%	Better Chance for Advancement - Higher Level of Administration
3	40%	Region of the U.S.
4	39%	Size of Community
5	27%	Climate
6	24%	Spouse of Mate Having Equal or Better Job
7	20%	Better School for Children

*Tied for second place

by only 45% of respondents. Either a dissatisfaction with Nebraska's cold winters or an unwillingness to move anywhere else was expressed by 40% of the respondents who checked region of the U.S. as an important contingency of willingness to relocate; 39% was concerned that it locate only in a certain size community. Additional evidence that Nebraskans may not be enamored with their climate is the fact that over 27% cited climate as a factor in moving. Surprisingly, since previous job change appeared

unrelated to a spouse or mate's job, 24% of the respondents claimed that spouse or mate having an equal or better job would be necessary for them to move.

Constraints Preventing Relocation

Only one surprise emerged when respondents were asked what constraints would prevent them from relocating to accept a pro-offered job (see Table 10).

Table 10

Constraints Which Would Prevent Relocation
to Accept a New Job

Rank Order	Percent	Constraint
1	67%	Satisfaction with Present Job or Location
2	49%	Home Ownership
3	33%	Friends and Community Ties
4	31%	Too Expensive to Move
5	26%	Spouse or Mate's Job
6	25%	Job Security
7	22%	Children in School
8	19%	Too Close to Retirement

Fully two-thirds of the administrators (66.7%) claimed that either satisfaction with present job or location would keep them from moving even to accept a new job. Since previous studies have found teachers to have high job satisfaction, perhaps this same prevalence is found among educational administrators. It also appears that women administrators have less job satisfaction than men administrators since only 57% of the women stated that job satisfaction would prevent their moving while 71% of the men stated thus. The high cost of new mortgages and inflation, in all likelihood, prompted the checking of "Ownership of home" by almost 49% and "Too expensive to move" by 31% of the respondents. Friends and community ties would prevent a third of those surveyed from moving.

Summary and Conclusions

The research question concerning whether or not sex differences exist in job change rate and geographic mobility between men and women administrators, both in terms of past behavior and anticipated future changes has got to be answered with a "no". While some slight percentage differences between male and female administrators in their responses to questions relating to both job and geographic mobility is present, none of these differences is statistically significant. In fact, responses to two questions, recent previous job change and anticipated future relocation (i.e., geographic mobility) for men and women, are almost identical. Female administrators displayed more uncertainty than males in predicting a future job change for themselves; their lesser anticipation of such change is probably not surprising given the facts of today's job market which favors male domination in administrative positions. Women's lower aspirations are expected because of the present reality of the situation in terms of percentages of

positions actually held. In any case, women were found to be no less willing to relocate geographically for a new job than their male counterparts. Therefore, this study finds no evidence to substantiate a contention that women's proportionately smaller representation in public school administration is a result of either unwillingness or inability to make a geographic move.

Furthermore, at least in Nebraska, geographic mobility does not appear to be particularly popular with either male or female administrators as a means of enhancing job mobility; and it is not apparently a necessary concomitant of job change since only 16% of surveyed administrators had moved in the past five years, although 43% had changed jobs during that period. Seventy-five percent of the job changers, in fact, had made no geographic move thus moving does not appear highly correlated with job mobility. This tends to verify the existence, and perhaps even prevalence, of Carlson's placebound career track, or policy of promotion from within an institution or school district which is also practiced in higher education according to studies reported by Arter (1973), Moore and Sagaria (1981), and Cohen and March (1974).

Thus, at least two myths must be seriously challenged in view of the results of this survey. Geographic mobility, though highly touted as a necessity to ensure job mobility, is not always necessary due to the tendency, apparently, of many educational organizations to promote from within. And, women in public school administration, at least in Nebraska, are no less willing than men administrators to move in order to achieve job mobility.

Recommendations for Further Study

It is strongly recommended that the present study be replicated on a larger scale in another state or states to see if similar or even identical results are obtained. States such as Texas or Arizona with their high

mobility rates would be good sites for such a comparative study for it may well be that Nebraska with its relatively stable economic and demographic characteristics is simply an atypical case. It would be particularly useful to find areas of the country where more females in the superintendancy could be included in future studies. If similar findings in these new settings validate and/or corroborate this study, it is strongly suggested that other research hypotheses be explored since lack of geographic mobility could no longer be considered a valid rationale for explaining women's absence in public school administration.

Ortiz (1979), for example, provides a viable avenue for exploration in her analysis of women's scarcity in educational administration. She categorizes research on this topic into those studies which attribute this lack to sexual differences and those which examine organizational structures which promote or inhibit women's participation in top level administrative posts. The present study fits into this first category, that of sex-related differences, but Ortiz maintains that researchers should examine organizations themselves for reasons which explain women's subordinate positions in this predominately female profession. Ortiz' three-dimensional model borrowed and adapted from Schein (1971) sees advancement to top levels of an organization as a process requiring movement within three organizational levels or planes--vertically (up within the hierarch), radially (closer to the center of power within the organization, i.e., being more or less on the inside), and circumferentially, which corresponds to the notion of changing one's function or division in the organization, e.g., moving from an elementary to a secondary school principalship which carries more power and status. Women, Ortiz claims, have the most difficulty moving radially into the informal inner circle which forms an "inclusion boundary", which in the case

of females might more accurately be called an "exclusion boundary" as this level effectively screens women out of "the informal social system by virtue of the incongruence between their sex and the predominant social activities engaged in by men" (Ortiz, 1979, p. 112). This becomes a vicious circle which perpetuates male exclusivity in the top level positions of educational administration. Certainly, theories such as Ortiz and Schein propose should be investigated more fully to test their validity and to determine what lessons can be drawn from them to help more women participate more fully in administering the educational institutions in which they have so long formed a majority of the professional workforce.

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